

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS ON THE
GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION
IN CHINA

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Our great leader Chairman Maa.



Our great leader Chairman Mao delivering a most important speech at the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.



Our great leader Chairman Mao receiving for the first time the Red Guards and other revolutionary masses from all over the country on August 18, 1966, in Peking, centre of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.



Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao reviewing the mighty cultural revolutionary fighting forces from the Tien An Men rostrum on November 3, 1966.

THE current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Mao Tsetung

SOCIALIST society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on

we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Mao Tsetung

WE have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

Mao Tsetung

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**REPORT TO THE
NINTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA**

(Delivered on April 1 and adopted
on April 14, 1969)

Lin Piao

Comrades!

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our Party.

Our present congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman

Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shao-chi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

I. ON THE PREPARATION FOR THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a genuine proletarian revolution on an immense scale.

Chairman Mao has explained the necessity of the current great revolution in concise terms:

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

In order to comprehend this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's fully, we should have a deep understanding of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, shortly after the conclusion of the Party's Eighth National Congress, Chairman Mao made public his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, in which, following his *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, he comprehensively set forth the exist-

ence of contradictions, classes and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This great work, like a radiant beacon, illuminates the course of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and it has laid the theoretical foundation for the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In order to have a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great historic contribution, it is necessary briefly to review the historical experience of the international communist movement.

In 1852, Marx said:

Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical develop-

ment of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Chinese ed., p. 63.)

Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism and sham socialism of every kind. Marx and Engels fought all their lives for this theory and for its realization.

After the death of Marx and Engels, almost all the parties of the Second International betrayed Marxism, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by

Lenin. Lenin inherited, defended and developed Marxism in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The struggle focused on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In denouncing the old revisionists, Lenin time and again stated:

Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists.... Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 399.)

Lenin led the proletariat of Russia in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first socialist state. Through his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin perceived the danger of the restoration of capitalism and the protracted nature of class struggle:

The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 235.)

Lenin stated:

. . . the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.

(Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 6.)

His conclusion was: “**For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.**” (*Ibid.*)

Lenin also stated that “**the new bourgeoisie**” was “**arising from among our Soviet government employees**”. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 162.)

He pointed out that the danger of restoration also came from capitalist encirclement: The imperialist countries “**will never miss an opportunity for military intervention, as they put it, i.e., to strangle Soviet power**”. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 423.)

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed these brilliant teachings of Lenin’s. From Khrushchov to Brezhnev and company, they are all persons in power taking the capitalist road, who had long concealed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came to power, they turned the bour-

geoisie’s “**hope of restoration**” into “*attempts at restoration*”, usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and, through “**peaceful evolution**”, turned the world’s first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark fascist state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience, both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as March 1949, on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new-democratic revolution to

the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party: After the country-wide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is "**the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie**". The heart of the struggle is still the question of state power. Chairman Mao especially reminded us:

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

Having foreseen the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao set the

whole Party the militant task of fighting imperialism, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie in the political, ideological, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

Our Party waged intense battles in accordance with the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and the Party's general line for the transition period formulated by Chairman Mao. By 1956, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had been in the main completed. That was the crucial moment for deciding whether the socialist revolution could continue to advance. In view of the rampancy of revisionism in the international communist movement and the new trends of class struggle in our country, Chairman Mao, in his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, called the attention of the whole Party to the following fact:

In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started.

Countering the fallacy put forward by Liu Shao-chi in 1956 that "in China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved", Chairman Mao specifically pointed out: "**The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.**" "**The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute.**" Thus, for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist

movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao led the broad masses in carrying on the great struggle in the direction he indicated. From the struggle against the bourgeois rightists in 1957 to the struggle to uncover Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting in 1959, from the great debate on the general line of the Party in building socialism to the struggle between the two lines in the socialist education movement — the focus of the struggle was the question of whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road, whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Every single victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, every vic-

tory in every major campaign launched by the Party against the bourgeoisie, was gained only after smashing the revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi, which either was Right or was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Now it has been proved through investigation that Liu Shao-chi betrayed the Party, capitulated to the enemy and became a hidden traitor and scab as far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War period, that he was a crime-steeped lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and that he was the arch-representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road. He had a political line by which he vainly attempted to restore capitalism in China and turn her into an imperialist and revisionist colony. In addition, he had an organizational line to serve his counter-revolutionary political line. For many years, recruiting deserters and turncoats, Liu Shao-chi gathered together a gang of

renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power. They covered up their counter-revolutionary political records, shielded each other, colluded in doing evil, usurped important Party and government posts and controlled the leadership in many central and local units, thus forming an underground bourgeois headquarters in opposition to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They collaborated with the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and played the kind of disruptive role that the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries were unable to do.

In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan and for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously surging forward, Liu Shao-chi came up with his sinister book *Self-Cultivation*. The core of that book was the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did not touch at all upon the questions of defeat-

ing Japanese imperialism and of waging the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries, nor did it touch upon the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of seizing state power by armed force; on the contrary, it urged Communist Party members to depart from the great practice of revolution and indulge in idealistic "self-cultivation", which actually meant that Communists should "cultivate" themselves into willing slaves going down on their knees before the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the U.S. imperialists were arming Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary troops in preparation for launching an all-out offensive against the liberated areas, Liu Shao-chi, catering to the needs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, dished up the capitulationist line, alleging that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy". It was designed

to oppose Chairman Mao's general line of "go all out to mobilize the masses, expand the people's forces and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressor and build a new China", and to oppose Chairman Mao's policy of "give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land", which was adopted to counter the offensive of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Liu Shao-chi preached that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle". He tried to abolish the Party's leadership over the people's armed forces and to "unify" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, predecessors of the People's Liberation Army, into Chiang Kai-shek's "national army" and to demobilize large numbers of worker and peasant soldiers led by the Party in a vain attempt to eradicate the people's armed forces, strangle the Chinese revolution and obediently hand over to the Kuomintang the

fruits of victory which the Chinese people had won in blood.

In April 1949, on the eve of the country-wide victory of China's new-democratic revolution when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was preparing to cross the Yangtse River, Liu Shao-chi hurried to Tientsin and threw himself into the arms of the capitalists. He fiercely opposed the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming private capitalist industry, a policy decided upon by the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party which had just concluded. He clamoured that "capitalism in China today is still in its youth", that it needed an unlimited "big expansion" and that "capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit". He shamelessly praised the capitalist class, saying that "the more they exploit, the greater their merit", and feverishly advertised the revisionist theory of productive forces. He did all this in his

futile attempt to lead China onto the capitalist road.

In short, at the many important historical junctures of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his gang always wantonly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counter-revolutionary conspiratorial and disruptive activities. However, since they were counter-revolutionaries, their plots were bound to come to light eventually. When Khrushchov came to power, and especially when the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of India and other countries in whipping up a large-scale anti-China campaign, Liu Shao-chi and his gang became all the more rabid.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi and his gang. At the working conference of the Central Committee in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out the necessity of guarding

against the emergence of revisionism. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward more comprehensively the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, dis-

tinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party.

Following this, in May 1963, under the direction of Chairman Mao, the *Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work* (i. e., the 10-Point Decision) was worked out, which laid down the line, principles and policies of the Party for the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and

class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!" Thus Chairman Mao still more sharply showed the whole Party and the people of the whole country the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

All these warnings and struggles did not and could not in the least change the reactionary class nature of Liu Shao-chi and his gang. In 1964, in the great socialist education movement, Liu Shao-chi came out and repressed the masses, shielded the capitalist-roaders in power and openly attacked the Marxist scientific method of in-

vestigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, branding it as "outdated". He raved that whoever refused to carry out his line was "not qualified to hold a leading post". He and his gang were working against time to restore capitalism. At the end of 1964, Chairman Mao convened a working conference of the Central Committee and, under his direction, the document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* (i.e., the 23-Point Document) was drawn up. He denounced Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and repudiated Liu Shao-chi's absurdities, such as "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party" and "the contradiction between the 'four cleans' and the 'four unclean's' ". And for the first time Chairman Mao specifically indicated: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." This new conclusion drawn

by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, domestic and international, set right the course of the socialist education movement and clearly showed the orientation for the approaching Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Reviewing the history of this period, we can see that the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the participation of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people has occurred by no means accidentally. It is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is "a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a

continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie". The heroic Chinese proletariat, poor and lower-middle peasants, People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, who were all determined to follow the great leader Chairman Mao closely in taking the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the restoration activities of Liu Shao-chi and his gang, and so a great class battle was unavoidable.

As Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in February 1967:

In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.

Now we have found this form — it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It

is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power who have wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed. It was precisely with the participation of the broad masses in the examination of Liu Shao-chi's case that his true features as an old-line counter-revolutionary, renegade, hidden traitor and scab were brought to light. The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party decided to dismiss Liu Shao-chi from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to expel him from the Party once and for all. This was a great victory for the hundreds of millions of the people. On the basis of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution. This is indeed "absolutely necessary and most timely" and it is a new and great contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

II. ON THE COURSE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Our aim is to smash revisionism, seize back that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and strengthen and consolidate the economic base of socialism so as to ensure that our country continues to advance in giant strides along the road of socialism.

Back in 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out:

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

This statement of Chairman Mao's dealt the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique a blow at the heart. It was for the sole purpose of creating public opinion to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat that they spared no effort in seizing upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, violently exercising counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spreading poisonous weeds. To overthrow them politically, we must likewise first vanquish their counter-revolutionary

public opinion by revolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has always attached major importance to the struggle in ideology. After the liberation of our country, he initiated many criticisms including those of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*. And this time it was Chairman Mao again who led the whole Party in launching the offensive on the positions occupied by Liu Shao-chi and his gang for the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay *Where Do Correct Ideas Come from?* and other documents, in which he criticized Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, criticized the departments of literature and art under Liu Shao-chi's control as being "still dominated by 'the dead'", criticized the Ministry of Culture by saying that "if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors,

Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies" and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the "**Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords**". At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music, fields that had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by the landlord and capitalist classes. It was a fight at close quarters. Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, the proletariat finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. A number of splendid model revolutionary theatrical works appeared and the heroic figures of workers, peasants and soldiers finally took the centre of the stage. After that, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* and other poisonous weeds, focusing the attack right on the den of the

revisionist clique — that impenetrable and watertight "independent kingdom" under Liu Shao-chi's control, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The *Circular* of May 16, 1966 worked out under Chairman Mao's personal guidance laid down the theory, line, principles and policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and constituted the great programme for the whole movement. The *Circular* thoroughly criticized the "February Outline" turned out by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters for the purpose of suppressing this great revolution. It called upon the whole Party and the people of the whole country to direct the spearhead of struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party and to pay special attention to unmasking "**persons like Khrushchov . . . who are still nestling beside us**". This was a great call mobilizing the people of the whole country to unfold

a great political revolution. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the *Circular*, has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses plunged into the fight. In Peking University a big-character poster was written in response to the call of the Central Committee. And soon big-character posters criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas mushroomed all over the country. Then Red Guards rose and came forward in large numbers and revolutionary young people became courageous and daring pathbreakers. Thrown into a panic, the Liu Shao-chi clique rushed out with the bourgeois reactionary line, cruelly suppressing the revolutionary movement of the student youth. However, this did not win them much time in their deathbed struggle. Chairman Mao called and

presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. The Plenary Session adopted the programmatic document, *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (i.e., the 16-Point Decision). Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster *Bombard the Headquarters*, thus taking the lid off Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. In his letter to the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards "express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you." Afterwards, Chairman Mao received 13 million Red Guards and other revolution-

ary masses from all parts of the country on eight occasions at Tien An Men in the capital, which heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the people of the whole country. The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants and revolutionary functionaries developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of big-character posters spread like a raging prairie fire and roared like guns; the slogan "**It is right to rebel against reactionaries**" resounded throughout the land. And the battle of the people in their hundreds of millions to bombard Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters developed vigorously.

No reactionary class will ever step down from the stage of history of its own accord. When the revolution touched that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, the class struggle became all the more acute. After Liu Shao-chi's downfall, his revisionist clique and his agents in various places changed their tactics time and again, putting forward slogans which were

"Left" in form but Right in essence such as "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all", in a futile attempt to go on hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful. Moreover, they created splits among the revolutionary masses and manipulated and hoodwinked a section of the masses so as to protect themselves. When these schemes were shattered by the proletarian revolutionaries, they launched another frenzied counter-attack, that is, the adverse current lasting from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967.

This adverse current was directed against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Its general programme boiled down to this: to overthrow the decisions adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, reversing the verdict on the overthrown bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, reversing the verdict on the bourgeois reactionary line, which had already been

thoroughly repudiated and discredited by the broad masses, and repressing and retaliating on the revolutionary mass movement. However, this adverse current was seriously criticized by Chairman Mao and resisted by the broad revolutionary masses; it could not prevent the main current of the revolutionary mass movement from surging forward.

The twists and reversals in the revolutionary movement further brought home to the broad masses the importance of political power: The main reason why Liu Shao-chi and his gang could do evil was that they had usurped the power of the proletariat in many units and localities, and the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places. In some units, the socialist system of ownership existed only in form, but in reality the leadership had been usurped by a handful of renegades, enemy agents and capitalist-roaders in power, or

it remained in the hands of former capitalists. Especially when the capitalist-roaders in power failed in their scheme to suppress the revolution on the pretext of "grasping production" and whipped up the evil counter-revolutionary wind of economism, the broad masses came to understand still better that only by recapturing the lost power was it possible for them to defeat the capitalist-roaders in power completely. Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working class in Shanghai with its revolutionary tradition came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council.

Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January storm of revolution in Shanghai and issued his call

to the whole country: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!" Following that, Chairman Mao gave the instruction: "The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left." He went on to sum up the experience of Heilung-kiang Province and other provinces and municipalities, laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of revolutionary committees which embrace representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the People's Liberation Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary three-in-one combination, and thus pushed forward the nation-wide struggle for the seizure of power.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure and counter-seizure of power was a life-and-death struggle. During the year and nine months from Shanghai's January

storm of revolution in 1967 to the establishment of the revolutionary committees of Tibet and Sinkiang in September 1968, repeated trials of political strength took place between the two classes and the two lines, fierce struggles went on between proletarian and non-proletarian ideas and an extremely complicated situation emerged. As Chairman Mao has said: "In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war." "The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out." Nevertheless, relying on the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we finally overcame this difficulty. In the summer of 1967, Chairman Mao made an inspection tour north and south of the Yangtse River

and issued most important instructions, guiding the broad revolutionary masses to distinguish gradually the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and to further promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and guiding people with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, it was only the enemy who was thrown into disorder while the broad masses were steeled in the course of the struggle.

The handful of renegades, enemy agents, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, active counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois careerists and double-dealers who had hidden themselves among the masses would not reveal their colours until the climate suited them. In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind both from the Right and the extreme "Left" to

reverse correct verdicts. They directed their spearhead against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, against the People's Liberation Army and against the new-born revolutionary committees. In the meantime, they incited the masses to struggle against each other and organized counter-revolutionary conspiratorial cliques in a vain attempt to stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. However, like their chieftain Liu Shao-chi, this handful of bad people was finally exposed. This was an important victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

III. ON CARRYING OUT THE TASKS OF STRUGGLE-CRITICISM-TRANS- FORMATION CONSCIENTIOUSLY

As in all other revolutions, the fundamental question in the current great revolution in the realm of the superstructure

is the question of political power, the question of which class holds leadership. The establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country (with the exception of Taiwan Province) marks the great, decisive victory achieved by this revolution. However, the revolution is not yet over. The proletariat must continue to advance, **"carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously"** and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end.

Chairman Mao says:

Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure,

changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.

We must act on Chairman Mao's instruction and fulfil these tasks in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit in a deep-going, meticulous, down-to-earth and appropriate way.

Confronted with a thousand and one tasks, a revolutionary committee must grasp the fundamental: It must put the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought above all work and place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything. For decades, Mao Tsetung Thought has been showing the orientation of the revolution to the whole Party and the people of the whole country. However, as Liu Shao-chi and his gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists blocked Chairman Mao's instructions, the broad revolutionary masses could hardly hear Chairman Mao's voice directly. The

storm of the present great revolution has destroyed the big and little "palaces of hell-rulers" and has made it possible for Mao Tsetung Thought to reach the broad revolutionary masses directly. This is a great victory. This wide dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought in a big country with a population of 700 million is the most significant achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this revolution, hundreds of millions of people always carry with them *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung*, which they study and apply conscientiously. As soon as a new instruction of Chairman Mao's is issued, they propagate it and go into action. This most valuable practice must be maintained and persevered in. We should carry on in a deep-going way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to run well the Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of all types and, in the light of Chairman Mao's *May 7 Directive* of 1966, truly turn the

whole country into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought.

All revolutionary comrades must be clearly aware that class struggle will by no means cease in the ideological and political spheres. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by no means dies out with our seizure of power. We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tsetung Thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism and all kinds of Right or extreme "Left" erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to criticize bourgeois individualism and the theory of "many centres", that is, the theory of "no centre". We must continue to criticize thoroughly and discredit completely the stuff of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi such as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and must firmly establish among the cadres and the

masses of the people Chairman Mao's concept of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts", so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao points out:

The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and organize itself into a revolutionized leading group which maintains close ties with the masses.

This is a basic principle which enables the superstructure to serve its socialist economic base still better. A duplicate administrative structure divorced from the masses, scholasticism which suppresses and binds their revolutionary initiative, and a landlord and bourgeois style of going in for formality and ostentations — all these are

destructive to the socialist economic base, advantageous to capitalism and harmful to socialism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, organs of state power at all levels and other organizations must keep close ties with the masses, first of all with the basic masses — the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres, old and new, must constantly sweep away the dust of bureaucracy and must not fall into the bad habit of "acting as bureaucrats and overlords". They must keep on practising frugality in carrying out revolution, run all socialist undertakings industriously and thriftily, oppose extravagance and waste and guard against bourgeois attacks with sugar-coated bullets. They must maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. They must be concerned with the well-being of the masses. They must themselves make investigation and study in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, "dissect" one or several "sparrows" and

constantly sum up experience. They must make criticism and self-criticism regularly and, in line with the five requirements for the successors to the revolution as set forth by Chairman Mao, "fight self, criticize revisionism" and conscientiously remould their world outlook.

The People's Liberation Army is the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has pointed out many times: From the Marxist point of view the main component of the state is the army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao is the army of the workers and peasants, the army of the proletariat. It has performed great historic feats in the struggle for overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in the struggles for defending the motherland, for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and for smashing aggression by imperialism, revisionism and the reac-

tionaries. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people. And this is also the best preparation against war. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of "supporting the government and cherishing the people", "supporting the army and cherishing the people", strengthen the unity between the army and the people, strengthen the building of the militia and of national defence and do a still better job in all our work. For the past three

years, it is precisely because the people have supported the army and the army has protected the people that renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road and counter-revolutionaries have failed in their attempts to undermine this great people's army of ours.

Departments of culture, art, education, the press, health, etc., occupy an extremely important position in the realm of the superstructure. The line "**We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class**" was decided upon at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. And now, at Chairman Mao's call that "**The working class must exercise leadership in everything**", the working class, which is the main force in the proletarian revolution, and its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. From July 27, 1968, mighty contingents of the working

class marched to places long dominated by the persons in power taking the capitalist road and to all places where intellectuals were predominant in number. It was a great revolutionary action. Whether the proletariat is able to take firm root in the positions of culture and education and transform them with Mao Tsetung Thought is the key question in carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao has attached profound importance to our work in this connection and personally grasped typical cases, thus setting us a brilliant example. We must overcome the wrong tendency of some comrades to slight the ideological, cultural and educational front; we must closely follow Chairman Mao and consistently do hard and careful work. "**On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle**", sum up experience in leading the struggle-criticism-transfor-

mation in the superstructure and win the battle on this front.

IV. ON THE POLICIES OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In order to continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, it is imperative to carry out conscientiously all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies.

Policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were early stipulated explicitly in the *Circular* of May 16, 1966 and the *16-Point Decision* of August 1966. The series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions including "Serious attention must be paid to policy in the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" have further specified the various policies.

The main question at present is to carry them out to the letter.

The Party's policies, including those towards the intellectuals, the cadres, "the sons and daughters that can be educated" [the sons and daughters of those who have committed crimes or mistakes — *translator*], the mass organizations, the struggle against the enemy and economic policy — all these policies come under the general heading of the correct handling of the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

The majority or the vast majority of the intellectuals trained in the old type of schools and colleges are able or willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They should be "re-educated" by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, and encouragement should be given to those who do well in such integration and to the Red Guards and educated young people

who are active in going to the countryside or mountainous areas.

Chairman Mao has taught us many times: "Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack" and "carry out Marx's teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation". With regard to people who have made mistakes, stress must be laid on giving them education and re-education, doing patient and careful ideological and political work and truly acting "on the principle of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient', in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades". With regard to good people who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roader in power but have now raised their political consciousness and gained the understanding of the masses, they should be promptly "liberat-

ed", assigned to suitable work and encouraged to go among the masses of the workers and peasants to remould their world outlook. As for those who have made a little progress and become awakened to some extent, we should continue to help them, proceeding from the viewpoint of unity. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out:

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them.

In the struggle against the enemy, we must carry out the policy "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one" which Chairman Mao has always advocated. "Stress should be laid on the

weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence.” We must implement Chairman Mao’s policies of “leniency towards those who confess their crimes and severe punishment of those who refuse to do so” and of “giving a way out”. We rely mainly on the broad masses of the people in exercising dictatorship over the enemy. As for bad people or suspects ferreted out through investigation in the movement for purifying the class ranks, the policy of “killing none and not arresting most” should be applied to all except the active counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence of crimes such as murder, arson or poisoning, and who should be dealt with in accordance with the law.

As for the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, we should either criticize them and see, or criticize them and give them work to do, or criticize them and

provide them with a proper livelihood. In short, we should criticize their ideology and at the same time give them a way out. To handle this part of the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in the manner of handling contradictions among the people is beneficial to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the disintegration of the enemy ranks.

In carrying out the policies of the Party, all units must study their specific conditions. In places where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been sufficiently consolidated, it is necessary to help the revolutionary masses bring about the revolutionary great alliance in accordance with revolutionary principles and on the basis of different fields of work, trades and school classes so that they will become united against the enemy. In units where the work of purifying the class ranks has not yet started or has only just started, it is im-

perative to grasp the work firmly and do it well in accordance with the Party's policies. In units where the purification of the class ranks is by and large completed, it is necessary to take firm hold of other tasks in keeping with Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the various stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. At the same time, it is necessary to pay close attention to new trends in the class struggle. What if the bad people get unruly again? Chairman Mao has a well-known saying: "**Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless.**" If the class enemies stir up trouble again, just arouse the masses and strike them down again.

As the *16-Point Decision* indicates,

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country.

Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running

and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. The technical revolution is making constant progress. The market is flourishing and prices are stable. By the end of 1968 we had redeemed all the national bonds. Our country is now a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts.

"Grasp revolution, promote production" — this principle is absolutely correct. It correctly explains the relationship between revolution and production, between consciousness and matter, between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. Chairman Mao always teaches us: "**Political work is the**

life-blood of all economic work.” Lenin denounced the opportunists who were opposed to approaching problems politically. “Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the ABC of Marxism.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 32, p. 72.) Lenin again stated: To put politics on a par with economics also means “forgetting the ABC of Marxism”. (*Ibid.*) Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. If we fail to make revolution in the superstructure, fail to arouse the broad masses of the workers and peasants, fail to criticize the revisionist line, fail to expose the handful of renegades, enemy agents, capitalist-roaders in power and counter-revolutionaries and fail to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat, how can we further consolidate the socialist economic base and further develop the socialist productive forces? This is not to replace production by revolution but to use revolution to command

production, promote it and lead it forward. We must make investigation and study, and actively and properly solve the many problems of policy in struggle-criticism-transformation on the economic front in accordance with Chairman Mao’s general line of “**Going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**”, in accordance with his great strategic concept “**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**” and with the series of principles such as “**take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor**”. We must bring the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the people of all nationalities into full play, firmly grasp revolution and energetically promote production and fulfil and overfulfil our plans for developing the national economy. It is certain that the great victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will con-

tinue to bring about new leaps forward on the economic front and in our cause of socialist construction as a whole.

V. ON THE FINAL VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY

The victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country is indeed a very great one. But we must in no way think that we may sit back and relax. Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in October 1968:

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the peo-

ple at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

There will still be reversals in the class struggle. We must never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of carrying out our policies at present, there still exists the struggle between the two lines and there is interference from the "Left" or the Right. Much effort is still required to accomplish the tasks for all the stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. We must closely follow Chairman Mao and steadfastly rely on the broad revolutionary masses to surmount the difficulties and twists and turns on our way

forward and seize still greater victories in the cause of socialism.

VI. ON THE CONSOLIDATION AND BUILDING OF THE PARTY

The victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has provided us with valuable experience on how we should build the Party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Chairman Mao has indicated to the whole Party,

The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

Chairman Mao's instruction has determined our political orientation for consolidating and building the Party.

The Communist Party of China has been nurtured and built up by our great leader Chairman Mao. Since its birth in 1921, our Party has gone through long years of struggle for the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed force. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party has always stood in the forefront of revolutionary wars and struggles. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, our Party has, in the face of extremely strong domestic and foreign enemies and in the most complex circumstances, led the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of China in adhering to the principle of **maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts**, in upholding proletarian internationalism and in waging heroic struggles with one stepping into the breach as another fell, and it is only thus that our Party has grown from Communist groups with only a few dozen

members at the outset into the great, glorious and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China today. We deeply understand that without the armed struggle of the people, there would not be the Communist Party of China today and there would not be the People's Republic of China today. We must forever bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: **"Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."**

The Communist Party of China owes all its achievements to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and these achievements constitute victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. For half a century now, in leading the great struggle of the people of all the nationalities of China for accomplishing the new-democratic revolution, in leading China's great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against

imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries, Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military, economic, cultural, philosophical and other spheres, and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. The entire history of our Party has borne out this truth: Departing from the leadership of Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought, our Party will suffer setbacks and defeats; following Chairman Mao closely and acting on Mao Tsetung Thought, our Party will advance and triumph. We must forever remember this lesson. Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, whoever opposes Mao Tsetung Thought, at any time or under any circum-

stances, will be condemned and punished by the whole Party and the whole country.

Discussing the consolidation and building of the Party, Chairman Mao has said:

A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour.

With this vivid analogy, Chairman Mao has expounded the dialectics of inner-Party contradiction. **“The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics.”** Opposition and struggle between the two lines within the

Party are the reflection inside the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no struggles to resolve them, and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life would come to an end. Chairman Mao's theory on inner-Party contradiction is and will be the fundamental guiding thinking for the consolidation and building of the Party.

The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and “Left” opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the “Left” opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first “Left” and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-

Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and, after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi which did the gravest harm to the Party.

In the new historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat enforces its dictatorship and exercises its leadership in every field of work through its vanguard the Communist Party. Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it.

Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building betrayed the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building. At the crucial moment when China's socialist revolution was deepening and the class struggle was extraordinarily acute, Liu Shao-chi had his sinister book *Self-Cultivation* republished and it was precisely his aim to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When he copied the passage from Lenin on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we quoted earlier in this report, Liu Shao-chi once again deliberately omitted the most important conclusion that "**the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential**", thereby clearly revealing his own counter-revolutionary features as a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Liu Shao-chi went on spreading such reactionary fallacies as the

theory of "the dying out of class struggle", the theory of "docile tools", the theory that "the masses are backward", the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up", the theory of "inner-Party peace" and the theory of "merging private and public interests" (i.e., "losing a little to gain much"), in a vain attempt to corrupt and disintegrate our Party, so that the more the Party members "cultivated" themselves, the more revisionist they would become and so that the Marxist-Leninist Party would "evolve peacefully" into a revisionist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We should carry on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's reactionary fallacies.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the broadest and most deep-going movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organiza-

tions at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way, the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution teaches us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been

tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses and are bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses.

The study and spread of the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines and the study and spread of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted not just once but should be repeated every year, every month, every day. Only thus will it be possible for the masses of Party members and the people to criticize and resist erroneous lines and tendencies the moment they emerge, and will it be possible to guarantee that our Party will always forge ahead victoriously along the correct course charted by Chairman Mao.

The revision of the Party Constitution is an important item on the agenda of the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Central Committee has submitted the draft Party Constitution to the congress for discussion. This draft was worked out jointly by the whole Party and the revolutionary

masses throughout the country. Since November 1967 when Chairman Mao proposed that primary Party organizations take part in the revision of the Party Constitution, the Central Committee has received several thousand drafts. On this basis the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party drew up the draft Party Constitution, upon which the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country once again held enthusiastic and earnest discussions. It may be said that the draft of the new Party Constitution is the product of the integration of the great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership with the broad masses; it reflects the will of the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country and gives a vivid demonstration of the democratic centralism and the mass line to which the Party has always adhered. Especially important is the fact that the draft Party Constitu-

tion has clearly reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking. This is a great victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in smashing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line on Party building, a great victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The Central Committee is convinced that, after the discussion and adoption of the new Party Constitution by the congress, our Party will, in accordance with its provisions, surely be built into a still greater, still more glorious and still more correct Party.

VII. ON CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Now we shall go on specifically to discuss China's relations with foreign countries.

The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world always support each other.

The Albanian Party of Labour and all other genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, the broad masses of the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world as well as many friendly countries, organizations and personages have all warmly acclaimed and supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country. On behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Ninth National Congress of the Party, I hereby express our heartfelt thanks to them. We firmly pledge that we the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are determined to fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty and, together with them, carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries.

The general trend of the world today is still as Chairman Mao described it: **"The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better**

daily." On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of southern Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. The truth that "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**" is being grasped by ever broader masses of the oppressed people and nations. An unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out in Japan, Western Europe and North America, the "**heartlands**" of capitalism. More and more people are awakening. The genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations are growing steadily in the course of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in their own countries. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism

and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and find themselves in an impasse. They collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to redivide the world. They act in co-ordination and work hand in glove in opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people, in suppressing the national liberation movement and in launching wars of aggression. They scheme against each other and get locked in strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, important strategic points and spheres of influence. They are both stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, each trying to realize its own ambitions.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism means war. "...imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exists." (Lenin, *Collected*

Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 182.) Lenin further pointed out: "Imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 349.) These scientific theses of Lenin's are by no means out of date.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out,

With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.

This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today: the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between so-

cialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution. According to the historical experience of World War I and World War II, it can be said with certainty that if the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries should impose a third world war on the people of the world, it would only greatly accelerate the development of these contradictions and help arouse the people of the world to rise in revolution and send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to their graves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**All reactionaries are paper tigers.**" "**Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously.**" This great truth enunciated by Chairman Mao heightens the revolutionary militancy of the people of the whole world and guides us from victory to vic-

tory in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

The paper tiger nature of U.S. imperialism has long since been laid bare by the people throughout the world. U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world, is going downhill more and more. Since he took office, Nixon has been confronted with a hopeless mess and an insoluble economic crisis, with the strong resistance of the masses of the people at home and throughout the world and with the predicament in which the imperialist countries are disintegrating and the baton of U.S. imperialism is getting ever less effective. Unable to produce any solution to these problems, Nixon, like his predecessors, cannot but continue to play the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, ostensibly assuming a "peace-loving" appearance while in fact engaging in arms expansion and war preparations on a still larger scale.

The military expenditures of the United States have been increasing year by year. To date the U.S. imperialists still forcibly occupy our territory Taiwan. They have dispatched aggressor troops to many countries and have also set up hundreds upon hundreds of military bases and military installations in different parts of the world. They have made so many airplanes and guns, so many nuclear bombs and guided missiles. What is all this for? To frighten, suppress and slaughter the people and dominate the world. By doing so they make themselves the enemy of the people everywhere and find themselves besieged and battered by the broad masses of the proletariat and the people all over the world, and this will definitely lead to revolutions throughout the world on a still larger scale.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a paper tiger, too. It has revealed its social-imperialist features ever more

clearly. When Khrushchov revisionism was just beginning to emerge, our great leader Chairman Mao foresaw what serious harm modern revisionism would do to the cause of world revolution. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles in the ideological, theoretical and political spheres, together with the Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha and with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world, against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre. This has enabled the people all over the world to learn gradually in struggle how to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism-Leninism and genuine from sham socialism and brought about the bankruptcy of Khrushchov revisionism. At the same time, Chairman Mao led our Party in resolutely criticizing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line of capitulation to imperialism, revisionism and reaction and of suppression of revo-

lutionary movements in various countries and in destroying Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. All this has been done in the fulfilment of our Party's proletarian internationalist duty.

Since Brezhnev came to power, with its baton becoming less and less effective and its difficulties at home and abroad growing more and more serious, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been practising social-imperialism and social-fascism more frantically than ever. Internally, it has intensified its suppression of the Soviet people and speeded up the all-round restoration of capitalism. Externally, it has stepped up its collusion with U.S. imperialism and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, intensified its control over and its exploitation of various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia, intensified its contention with U.S. imperialism over the

Middle East and other regions and intensified its threat of aggression against China. Its dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and its armed provocations against China on our territory Chenpao Island are two foul performances staged recently by Soviet revisionism. In order to justify its aggression and plunder, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique trumpets the so-called theory of "limited sovereignty", the theory of "international dictatorship" and the theory of "socialist community". What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is "limited", while his is unlimited. You won't obey him? He will exercise "international dictatorship" over you — dictatorship over the people of other countries, in order to form the "socialist community" ruled by the new tsars, that is, colonies of social-imperialism, just like the "New Order of Europe" of Hitler, the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" of Japanese milita-

rism and the "Free World Community" of the United States. Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International "Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 458.) This applies perfectly to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of today which is composed of a handful of capitalist-roaders in power. We firmly believe that the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in the Soviet Union with their glorious revolutionary tradition will surely rise and overthrow this clique consisting of a handful of renegades. As Chairman Mao points out:

The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction

that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long.

Now that the Soviet Government has created the incident of armed encroachment on the Chinese territory Chenpao Island, the Sino-Soviet boundary question has caught the attention of the whole world. Like the boundary questions between China and other neighbouring countries, the Sino-Soviet boundary question is also one left over by history. As regards these questions, our Party and Government have consistently stood for negotiations through diplomatic channels to reach a fair and reasonable settlement. Pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained and conflicts avoided. Proceeding from this stand, China has satisfactorily and successively settled boundary questions with

neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan. Only the boundary questions between the Soviet Union and China and between India and China remain unsettled to this day.

The Chinese Government held repeated negotiations with the Indian Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question. As the reactionary Indian Government had taken over the British imperialist policy of aggression, it insisted that we recognize the illegal "McMahon line" which even the reactionary governments of different periods in old China had not recognized, and moreover, it went a step further and vainly attempted to occupy the Aksai Chin area, which has always been under Chinese jurisdiction, thereby disrupting the Sino-Indian boundary negotiations. This is known to all.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is the product of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against China. In the

latter half of the 19th century when power was in the hands neither of the Chinese people nor of the Russian people, the tsarist government perpetrated imperialist acts of aggression to carve up China, imposed a series of unequal treaties on her, annexed vast expanses of her territory and, moreover, crossed in many places the boundary line stipulated by the unequal treaties and occupied still more Chinese territory. This gangster behaviour was indignantly condemned by Marx, Engels and Lenin. On September 27, 1920, the Government of Soviets led by the great Lenin solemnly proclaimed: It "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and forever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie". (See *Declaration of the*

Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the Chinese Government.) Owing to the historical conditions of the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's was not realized.

As early as August 22 and September 21, 1960, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand on boundary questions, twice took the initiative in proposing to the Soviet Government that negotiations be held to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In 1964, negotiations between the two sides started in Peking. The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese people by the tsars, but proceeding from the desire to safeguard the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people, we still maintained that these treaties be taken as the basis for the settlement of the boundary question. However, betraying Lenin's proletarian policy and clinging to its new-tsarist social-imperialist stand,

the Soviet revisionist renegade clique refused to recognize these treaties as unequal and, moreover, it insisted that China recognize as belonging to the Soviet Union all the Chinese territory which they had occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties. This big-power chauvinist and social-imperialist stand of the Soviet Government led to the disruption of the negotiations.

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has frenziedly stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary and repeatedly provoked border incidents, shooting and killing our unarmed fishermen and peasants and encroaching upon China's sovereignty. Recently it has gone further and made successive armed intrusions into our territory Chenpao Island. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, our frontier guards have fought back in self-defence, dealing the aggressors well-deserved blows and triumphantly safe-

guarding our sacred territory. In an effort to extricate the Soviet revisionist renegade clique from its predicament, Kosygin asked on March 21 to communicate with our leaders by telephone. Immediately on March 22, our Government replied with a memorandum, in which it was made clear that, "In view of the present relations between China and the Soviet Union, it is unsuitable to communicate by telephone. If the Soviet Government has anything to say, it is asked to put it forward officially to the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels." On March 29, the Soviet Government issued a statement still clinging to its obstinate aggressor stand, while expressing willingness to resume "consultations". Our Government is considering its reply to this.

The foreign policy of our Party and Government is consistent. It is: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with socialist

countries on the principle of proletarian internationalism; to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations; and to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Our proletarian foreign policy is not based on temporary expediency; it is a policy in which we have long persisted. This is what we did in the past and we will persist in doing the same in the future.

We have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all countries and between all parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and non-interference in each

other's internal affairs. To safeguard these Marxist-Leninist principles, the Communist Party of China has waged a long struggle against the sinister big-power chauvinism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This is a fact known to all. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique glibly talk of "fraternal parties" and "fraternal countries", but in fact they regard themselves as the patriarchal party and as the new tsars who are free to invade and occupy the territory of other countries. They conduct sabotage and subversion against the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties. Moreover, when any party, or any country in their so-called "socialist community", holds a slightly different view, they act ferociously and stop at nothing in suppression, sabotage and subversion and even in sending troops to invade and occupy their so-called "fraternal countries" and kidnapping members

of their so-called "fraternal parties". These fascist piratical acts have sealed their doom.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are always trying to "isolate" China; this is China's honour. Their rabid opposition to China cannot do us the slightest harm. On the contrary, it serves to further arouse our people's determination to maintain independence and keep initiative in our own hands, rely on our own efforts and work hard to make our country prosperous and powerful; it serves to prove to the whole world that China has drawn a clear line between herself on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism on the other. Today, it is not imperialism, revisionism and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that determine the destiny of the world. The genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries, which are composed of the advanced elements of

the proletariat, are a new rising force with infinitely broad prospects. The Communist Party of China is determined to unite and fight together with them. We firmly support the Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; we firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America; we firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and the masses of the Black people of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique; we firmly support the proletariat and the labouring people of the Soviet Union in their just struggle to overthrow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique; we firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia and

other countries in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Japan and the West European and Oceanian countries; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries; and we firmly support all the just struggles of resistance against aggression and oppression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, let us unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies!

On no account must we relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory or ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an

early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. **In short, we must be prepared.** Chairman Mao said long ago: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish. The Chinese revolution won out on the battlefield. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, with full confidence in victory, are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan and **resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out** all aggressors who dare to come!

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out:

Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done

so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.

Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long! Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! Bury U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys!

VIII. LET THE WHOLE PARTY, LET THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY UNITE TO WIN STILL GREATER VICTORIES

The Ninth National Congress of the Party is convened at an important mo-

ment in the historical development of our Party, at an important moment in the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and at an important moment in the development of the international communist movement and world revolution. Among the delegates to the congress are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and also a great deal of fresh blood. In previous congresses of our Party there have never been such great numbers of delegates from the Party membership among the industrial workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and of women delegates. Among the delegates from the Party membership in the People's Liberation Army are veteran Red Army fighters as well as new fighters. The delegates of Party members from among the Red Guards are attending a national congress of the Party for the first time. The fact that so many delegates have come to Peking from all

corners of the country and gathered around the great leader Chairman Mao to discuss and decide on the affairs of the Party and state signifies that our congress is a congress full of vitality, a congress of unity and a congress of victory.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our motherland has become unprecedentedly unified and our people have achieved a great revolutionary unity on the broadest scale under the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. This great unity is under the leadership of the proletariat and is based on the worker-peasant alliance; it embraces all the fraternal nationalities, the patriotic

democrats who for a long time have done useful work for the cause of the revolution and construction in our motherland, the vast numbers of patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic fellow-countrymen in Hongkong and Macao, our patriotic fellow-countrymen in Taiwan who are oppressed and exploited by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland. We are convinced that after the present national congress of our Party, the people of all nationalities in our country will certainly unite still more closely under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and win still greater victories in the struggle against our common enemy and in the cause of building our powerful socialist motherland.

Chairman Mao said in 1962:

The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system

throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past.

This magnificent prospect far-sightedly envisioned by Chairman Mao illuminates our future path of advance and inspires all genuine Marxist-Leninists to fight valiantly for the realization of the grand ideal of communism.

Let the whole Party unite, let the people of the whole country unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Long live the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Ninth National Congress of the Party!

Long live the great, glorious and correct
Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao
Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman
Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

**CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE
COMMUNIST PARTY**

(May 16, 1966)

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading Party members' groups and Party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the Outline Report on the

Current Academic Discussion Made by the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The so-called Outline Report by the "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tsetung and to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the Report actually opposes and stubbornly resists the Great Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tsetung, as well as the instructions re-

garding the criticism of Wu Han which he gave at the working conference of the Central Committee in September and October of 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee which was also attended by the leading comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The so-called Outline Report by the "Group of Five" is actually the Report of Peng Chen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the "Group of Five", and other comrades. In handling a document of this kind regarding important questions which affect the overall situation in the socialist revolution, Peng Chen held no discussion or exchange of views at all within the "Group of Five". He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor did he make it clear that the Outline Report would be sent to the Cen-

tral Committee for examination as an official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most dishonest methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the Outline Report to the whole Party.

The main errors of the Outline Report are as follows:

1) Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook, the Report completely transposes the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other, in its appraisal of the situation and the character of the present academic criticism. Our country is now in an upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire

Party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the Report does its best to turn the movement to the Right. Using muddled, self-contradictory and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of them in the Central Committee and in Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels). By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the heart of Wu Han's drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the Report covers

up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2) The Report violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, the authors of the Report went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved." Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. Comrade Mao Tsetung has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political

conclusions. However, Peng Chen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. Peng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into so-called pure academic discussion, as frequently advocated by the bourgeoisie. Clearly, this means giving prominence to bourgeois politics, while opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3) The Report lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide". But, playing a sly trick, it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Tsetung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide". It was in dealing

with this question that Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out:

We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.

Comrade Mao Tsetung also said,

To "open wide" means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate. . . .

This Report, however, poses "opening wide" against the proletariat's exposure of the bourgeoisie's reactionary stand. What it means by "opening wide" is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide", but

would not allow the proletariat to "open wide" and hit back at the bourgeoisie; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie as Wu Han. The "opening wide" of this Report is opposed to Mao Tsetung Thought and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4) Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the Report raised the slogan: "Everyone is equal before the truth." This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism and oppose Mao Tsetung Thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind,

and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bour-

geoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relationship in which one class oppresses another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relationship, such as a so-called relationship of equality or of peaceful coexistence

between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5) The Report states, "It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also truly to surpass and beat it by a wide margin by academic and professional standards." This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tsetung Thought — which the proletariat has grasped — has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the Report shows that its authors laud the bourgeois academic so-called authorities and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant new forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6) Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It in-

volves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. But this Report emphasizes that "without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction". This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the large-scale destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7) The Report states that "we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who always act arbitrarily and try to overwhelm people with their power" and that "we should guard against any tendency

by academic workers of the Left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants". What is really meant by "scholar-tyrants"? Who are the "scholar-tyrants"? Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of "scholar-tyrants"? The Report directs its spearhead against the proletarian Left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists "scholar-tyrants" and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. **As a matter of fact, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois**

scholar-tyrants are big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party. They do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on "acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power".

8) For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the Report demand a "rectification campaign" against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the Report in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian Left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the Left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking it, and intended to launch further attacks on it by means of a "rectification campaign", in the vain hope of disintegrating its ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and

supporting the Left and giving serious attention to building it up and expanding its ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred the title of "staunch Left" on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists and renegades who have sneaked into the Party, so as to shield them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian Left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois conception of brotherhood held by the authors of the Report.

9) At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just begun—in many spheres and places it has not even started, or if it has started, most Party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and

effective — the Report stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted "under direction", "with prudence", "with caution", and "with the approval of the leading bodies concerned". All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian Left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie its hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In a word, the authors of the Report are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a vindictive counter-attack. As for the articles written by the proletarian Left in refuting the reactionary bourgeois "authorities", they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. On the other hand, they give free rein to all the ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-books, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music,

the dance, etc., and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the Report really stand.

10) The present struggle centres around the issue of implementation of or resistance to Comrade Mao Tsetung's line on the Cultural Revolution. Yet the Report states: "Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem [that is, 'the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work']. Comrade Mao Tsetung opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, *Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and *Speech at the*

Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work. Yet the Report maintains that Mao Tsetung Thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that it has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of "under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought" as a cover, the Report actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Tsetung Thought, that is, the way of modern revisionism, the way to the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the Report opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the Cultural Revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung, attacks the proletarian Left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party; it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this re-

visionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state, on the future complexion of our Party and state, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution". The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions, hold high the great banner of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of

the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the Cultural Revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at

all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

This *Circular*, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, is to be sent down to the level of county Party committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistakes.

**DECISION OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY
CONCERNING THE
GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

**1. A NEW STAGE IN THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tsetung said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tsetung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against

and overthrow those persons in power taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. THE MAIN CURRENT AND THE TWISTS AND TURNS

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this Great Cultural Revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelli-

gent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the Cultural Revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those persons in power taking the capitalist road who have wormed their way into the Party. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smooth.

3. PUT DARING ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE AND BOLDLY AROUSE THE MASSES

The outcome of this Great Cultural Revolution will be determined by whether

or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of Cultural Revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the

masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by persons taking the capitalist road who have wormed their way into the Party. Such persons in power are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in power taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4. LET THE MASSES EDUCATE THEMSELVES IN THE MOVEMENT

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses

to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish

right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5. FIRMLY APPLY THE CLASS LINE OF THE PARTY

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the Great Cultural Revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tsetung Thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the bourgeois reactionary scholar-tyrants and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible.

The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. BE ON GUARD AGAINST THOSE WHO BRAND THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AS "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the Cultural Revolution, some of the

persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries". It is necessary to beware

of such "pickpockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. THE QUESTION OF CADRES

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS, COMMITTEES AND CONGRESSES

Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

tion. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and

other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of represent-

atives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this Great Cultural Revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tsetung of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and phy-

sically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. THE QUESTION OF CRITICIZING BY NAME IN THE PRESS

In the course of the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of

the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities", and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12. POLICY TOWARDS SCIENTISTS, TECHNICIANS AND ORDINARY MEMBERS OF WORKING STAFFS

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as

long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity". Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. THE QUESTION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTEGRATION WITH THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Great Cultural Revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the

socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. GRASP REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the Cultural Revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing

the Great Cultural Revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. THE ARMED FORCES

In the armed forces, the Cultural Revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT IS THE GUIDE TO ACTION IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and put proletarian politics in command. The

movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao Tsetung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tsetung Thought should be taken as the guide to action in the Cultural Revolution.

In this complex Great Cultural Revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a living way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the Cultural Revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE ELEVENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Adopted on August 12, 1966)

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from August 1 to 12, 1966.

The Eleventh Plenary Session was presided over by Comrade Mao Tsetung. Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee attended. Also present were comrades from the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region

Party committees; members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee; comrades from the relevant departments of the Central Committee and the Government; and representatives of revolutionary teachers and students from institutions of higher learning in Peking.

The Eleventh Plenary Session after discussion adopts the *Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*.

The Plenary Session after discussion approves the important policy decisions and measures concerning domestic and international questions adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962.

DOMESTIC

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Comrade Mao

Tsetung made a correct analysis of the situation at that time and once again stressed the theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This is the guide for the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tsetung and under the guidance of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of our country have in the past four years unfolded the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, and have won great victories. The people's communes have been further consolidated and developed. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the whole country and the situation is one in which a new all-round leap forward is emerging.

The national economy of our country is developing steadily and soundly. The policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards advanced by the Party's Central Committee has already been successfully carried out. The Third Five-Year Plan started this year. On the industrial front, not only have big increases been registered in the output and variety of products, but their quality has also greatly improved. On the agricultural front, there have been good harvests for four successive years. The market is thriving and prices are stable. The success of the three nuclear tests is a concentrated expression of the new level reached in the development of China's science, technology and industry.

During the past few years, an extensive socialist education movement has unfolded in the rural areas, the cities and the army. At present, a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution unprecedented in history is developing in our country. The mass move-

ment in which workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres study and apply Comrade Mao Tsetung's works in a living way has ushered in a new era of direct mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism by the labouring people.

The Plenary Session fully approves the May 20, 1963 *Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work*. It fully approves the January 14, 1965 summary minutes of discussion at the national working conference called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*, that is, the *23-Point Document*. These two documents were drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and have been our people's powerful ideological weapon in carrying out the socialist revolution. We should continue to act in accordance with the two above-mentioned

documents and, in combination with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, carry through to the end the "four clean-ups" movement in both rural and urban areas, that is, the socialist education movement to clean up politics, ideology, organization and economy.

The Plenary Session fully approves the series of brilliant policies of decisive and fundamental importance put forward by Comrade Mao Tsetung over the past four years. These policies consist mainly of the following:

On the question of applying the principle of democratic centralism and carrying forward and developing the revolutionary tradition of the mass line;

On the question of raising and training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat;

On the call for industrial enterprises to learn from the Taching Oilfield, for agricultural units to learn from the Tachai Production Brigade, for the whole country

to learn from the People's Liberation Army, and for strengthening political and ideological work;

On the strategic principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural disasters and everything for the people;

On the question of breaking down foreign conventions and following our own road of industrial development;

On the question of system and deployment in economic construction and national defence construction;

On the call for the whole Party to grasp military affairs and for everybody to be a soldier;

On the question of planning and arrangements for the gradual mechanization of agriculture; and

On the call for the People's Liberation Army and all factories, villages, schools, commercial departments, service trades and Party and government organizations to become great schools of revolution.

The Plenary Session stresses that the series of directives by Comrade Mao Tsetung concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are the guide to action in our country's present Cultural Revolution; they constitute an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenary Session holds that the key to the success of this Great Cultural Revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of "from the masses, to the masses". Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of rightists, attacks on the Left and repression of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be

overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

Give enthusiastic support to the revolutionary Left, take care to strive and unite with all those who can be united and concentrate our forces to strike at the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois rightists.

The Plenary Session holds that the series of questions advanced by Comrade Mao Tsetung over the past four years concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction have greatly accelerated the development and success of the socialist cause in our country. These questions are of most profound and far-reaching significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism, for ensuring that our country adheres to proletarian internationalism and actively supports the revolutionary

struggles of the peoples of the world and for ensuring our country's gradual transition to communism in the future.

INTERNATIONAL

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that the present situation as regards the struggle of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism is excellent. We are now in a new era of world revolution. All political forces are undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is surging vigorously forward. Despite the inevitable zigzags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total col-

lapse and socialism advancing to worldwide victory is unalterable. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in various countries cannot avert their doom by brutally suppressing and wildly attacking the masses of the revolutionary people, or by bribing and deceiving them. On the contrary, this only serves to give further impetus to the revolutionary awakening of all peoples. The activities of U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries against the people and against revolution are giving impetus to the revolutionary activities of all peoples. U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries appear to be powerful but are actually very weak. From a long-term point of view, they are all paper tigers.

The new leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has inherited Khrushchov's mantle and is practising Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. Their line is one of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and

restoring capitalism in the socialist world. The leading group of the CPSU has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed the road of the Great October Revolution, betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and betrayed the interests of the great Soviet people and the people of the socialist countries. They revile the Communist Party of China as being "dogmatic", "sectarian" and "Left adventurist". In fact, what they are attacking is Marxism-Leninism itself. They are uniting with imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new "Holy Alliance" against communism, the people, revolution and China. But this counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration.

The Plenary Session holds that our Party's comprehensive public criticisms of Khrushchov revisionism over the last few years have been entirely correct and necessary. The *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14, 1963 is a programmatic document. This document drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the nine comments by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*) on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the article "A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting", Comrade Lin Piao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War!*, etc., give scientific Marxist-Leninist analyses of a series of important questions concerning the world revolution of our time and are powerful ideological weapons against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The Plenary Session maintains that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism. There is no middle road whatsoever in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn with respect to the modern revisionist groups whose centre is the leadership of the CPSU, and it is imperative resolutely to expose their true features as scabs. It is impossible to have "united action" with them.

The Plenary Session points out that proletarian internationalism is the supreme principle guiding China's foreign policy. The session warmly supports the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism headed by the United States and its stooges and also supports the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

The Plenary Session most strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for its crime of widening its war of aggression against

Viet Nam. The session most warmly and most resolutely supports the appeal issued by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and firmly supports the Vietnamese people in fighting to the end until final victory is achieved in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Plenary Session fully agrees to all the measures already taken and all actions to be taken as decided upon by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government in consultation with the Vietnamese side concerning aid to Viet Nam for resisting U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session severely denounces the Soviet revisionist leading group for its counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Viet Nam's resistance to U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session holds that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it blows, the broadest possible international united front must be established against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Soviet revisionist leading group is pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination and has been actively serving U.S. imperialism by conducting splitist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement. They cannot of course be included in this united front.

We must unite with all the people in the world who are against imperialism and colonialism, and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys through to the end.

Together with all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.

HOLD HIGH THE GREAT RED BANNER OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee emphasizes that the intensive study of Comrade Mao Tsetung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance. Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tsetung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively, and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country. The Plenary Session holds that Comrade Lin Piao's call on the People's Liberation Army to launch a mass movement in the army to study Comrade

Mao Tsetung's works has set a brilliant example for the whole Party and the whole nation. The most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for the victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tsetung Thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology. The method of studying Comrade Mao Tsetung's works with specific problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a living way, combining study with application, studying first what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and of striving hard to apply what one is studying has proved effective and universally suitable and should be further popularized throughout the Party and the country.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party. Founded and fostered by Comrade Mao Tsetung,

ours is a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Our Party is a proletarian vanguard that integrates theory with practice, forges close links with the masses of the people and has the spirit of earnest self-criticism. It is a proletarian revolutionary Party which has gone through the most fierce, the most arduous, the longest and the most complex struggles in history. Our people is a great people. Our country is a great country. Our army is a great army. We firmly believe that under the leadership of our great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the Communist Party of China, the armymen and civilians of the whole country, relying on their own efforts and working energetically, will surely be able to surmount all difficulties and obstacles and fulfil the mission given by history, and will surely not disappoint the expectations of the revolutionary people of the world.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all the

workers, people's commune members, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary teachers and students and scientific and technical personnel of the country to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, unite with all those who can be united, surmount the resistance coming from various directions, from the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists, overcome difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, cleanse the dark aspect in the Party and society, carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, and strive to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan and build China into a powerful socialist country.

We must be fired with great, lofty proletarian aspirations and dare to break paths unexplored by people before and scale heights yet unclimbed. We must do a good

job of building a socialist China, which has a quarter of the world's population, and make it an impregnable state of the proletariat that will never change its colour. We must liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and guard against surprise attacks from U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. Should they dare to impose war on us, the 700 million Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China will certainly break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely.

**COMMUNIQUE OF THE
ENLARGED TWELFTH
PLENARY SESSION OF THE
EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA**

(Adopted on October 31, 1968)

The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened in Peking on October 13, 1968 and was successfully concluded on October 31.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, presided over this session which is of great historic significance and

made a most important speech on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution movement since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in August 1966.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Chairman Mao Tsetung's close comrade-in-arms, attended the session and made an important speech.

Attending the session were Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee.

All members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee attended the session.

Principal responsible comrades of the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended the session.

Principal responsible comrades of the Chinese People's Liberation Army attended the session.

The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee unanimously holds that the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung, is a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Plenary Session holds that in his great revolutionary document *Bombard the Headquarters* issued at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao charted the course of victory for the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Plenary Session holds that the *Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session are correct.

The Plenary Session holds that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line,

his great strategic plan for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the series of important instructions he has given at various stages of this revolution, and Vice-Chairman Lin's many speeches are all correct. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee has played an important role in the struggle to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Practice in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution proves that, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, **The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.** Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute

class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and through repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in twenty-nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won great and decisive victory.

The Plenary Session holds that the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are further proof that the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao

Tsetung as its leader is a great, glorious and correct Party. The Plenary Session holds that through the storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, ample ideological, political and organizational conditions have been prepared for convening the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Plenary Session decided that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be held at an appropriate time.

The Plenary Session ratified the "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the Renegade, Hidden Traitor and Scab Liu Shao-chi" submitted by the special group under the Central Committee of the Party for the examination of his case. The report confirms with full supporting evidence that Liu Shao-chi, the No. 1 Party person in power taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, hidden traitor and scab who has concealed himself in the Party and is a crime-steeped lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang

reactionaries. The Plenary Session holds that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary features of Liu Shao-chi by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a tremendous victory for Mao Tsetung Thought and for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Plenary Session expressed its deepest revolutionary indignation at Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary crimes and unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The Plenary Session calls on all comrades in the Party and the people of the whole country to carry on deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and eradicate the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas of Liu Shao-chi and

the handful of other top Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

The Plenary Session points out that a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines runs through the history of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution over the past two years and more. The struggle centres on the question of political power, the question of the fight for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, **the question of whether the leadership of the Party and state is to be in the hands of Marxists or of revisionists.** Unreconciled to their doom, the exploiting classes and their agents used all kinds of political and economic means both from the Right and from the extreme "Left" — that is, "Left" in form but Right in essence — in a vain attempt to confuse class alignments, sabotage the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. But all their plots have been exposed one after another

by the masses of revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Tsetung Thought. The Plenary Session holds that it is essential to continue sharpening vigilance against sabotage by the exploiting classes and their agents.

The Plenary Session seriously criticized and repudiated the "adverse February current" of 1967 directed against the decision of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and against the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. The Plenary Session holds that the shattering of the "adverse February current" and of the sinister trend last spring to reverse the correct verdict on the "adverse February current" was an important victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in smashing the bourgeois reactionary line.

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory; it is the thought guiding all the work of the Party, the army and the country. Once Mao Tsetung Thought is grasped by the masses of the people, it generates an immense material force. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought has been rapidly disseminated among hundreds of millions of people, making its way deep into their hearts; in their struggles, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have eagerly studied and applied Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. This is the basic guarantee for consolidat-

ing the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing our country from ever changing its political colour. The whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary committees at all levels must continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, conscientiously carry out each and every one of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, carry forward the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works, run Mao Tsetung Thought study classes well, use Mao Tsetung Thought to unify their thinking and co-ordinate their steps and actions and criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres", so as to go on winning fresh victories in all fields of our work.

The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on

all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary intellectuals and on the revolutionary people of all nationalities in the country to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's teaching that the working class must exercise leadership in everything, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, to fulfil the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

We must continue to carry out Chairman Mao's great principle of the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's instructions on conducting revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, on simplifying the administrative structure, on

cadres' going down to do manual labour and on changing irrational rules and regulations, so that our new-born revolutionary committees can forge close links with the masses, be constantly consolidated, developed and improved and perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat still better.

We must continue fully to arouse the masses, conscientiously to carry out the work of purifying the class ranks in factories, people's communes, Party and government institutions, schools, all enterprises and undertakings and neighbourhoods, etc., and to dig out the handful of counter-revolutionaries hiding among the masses.

We must carry out Chairman Mao's directive that the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the

class enemy, carry out Chairman Mao's instruction on "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh", conscientiously do the work of consolidating and building the Party, clear the Party of proved renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, degenerate elements and other alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party, take proletarian fresh blood into the Party — above all, advanced elements with communist consciousness from among industrial workers — and select outstanding Party members who are resolute in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for leading posts in the Party.

We must fulfil the great historic mission of the proletarian revolution in education. As regards intellectuals, they must be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and

colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class. This is a question of key importance in carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. The workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are undertaking this glorious task should constantly raise their political consciousness in the course of struggle.

We must **grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, and do a still better job in building socialist industry, socialist agriculture and all other socialist undertakings in our country. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a tremendous motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. It is promot-

ing the emergence of a new leap in our socialist construction and will continue to do so.

We must continuously strengthen the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, further consolidate national defence, and continue to do a good job in **supporting the army and cherishing the people**. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold against the rapacious U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique. Should the enemy dare to impose war on us, we will **wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely**.

The Plenary Session holds that, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out, **the world revolution has entered a great new era**. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries is developing vigorously.

Riddled with contradictions and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, the imperialists headed by the United

States and the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are disintegrating; they are at the end of their tether and they are becoming more isolated than ever.

While both colluding and struggling with each other, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying in vain to redivide the world. In their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists enjoy the tacit consent and support of the Soviet revisionists, while in turn the Soviet revisionist renegade clique enjoys the tacit consent and support of the U.S. imperialists in openly dispatching troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. Their dirty political deal has been thoroughly exposed before the people of the world. Their nakedly aggressive actions have deepened the internal contradictions within the imperialist and the revisionist blocs and helped promote the political consciousness of the oppressed masses in the homelands of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revi-

sionism and, at the same time, they are stirring up a great new upsurge in the struggle of the proletariat and the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. No matter how tortuous the course of the struggle, no matter what rubbish the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists have collected to organize an anti-China and counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance", they are inevitably "**lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet**". We are not in the least isolated, for the people who want revolution, comprising over 90 per cent of the world's population, are our friends. The wheel of history can assuredly never be turned back, imperialism, revisionism and all other reactionary forces are bound to be smashed by the revolutionary people, and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world will definitely achieve complete emancipation through their struggle!

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung uphold proletarian internationalist principles and policies, unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries, firmly support the heroic Albanian people's struggle against imperialism and revisionism, firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, and firmly support all the just struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction. The Communist Party of China holds that all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys should form a broad united front to smash the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in their vain attempt to dominate the world, so as to win victory and liberation more quickly.

The Plenary Session was convened in an excellent domestic and international situation. This was a session of mobilization for the seizure of all-round victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a session of unprecedented unity in the whole Party under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, a session full of proletarian revolutionary vitality. The Plenary Session is convinced that the comrades of the whole Party, the people of the whole country and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will all rejoice over the success of our session and that those who fear this session are but the handful of imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and other reactionaries at home and abroad.

Let us closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao and courageously march forward! Victory will be ours.

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

I am herewith sending you for your attention the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces which Comrade Chiang Ching convened. The Summary, which has been repeatedly gone over by the comrades attending the forum and has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times, is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tsetung Thought to answer many important ques-

tions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last sixteen years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems and the ideas raised in the Summary correspond fully with the realities in the work of literature and art in the armed forces, and the ideas must be resolutely carried out so as to enable this work in the armed forces to play an

important role in giving prominence to politics and in promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking.

Please let me know your opinions on the Summary before it is submitted to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With greetings,

Lin Piao

March 22, 1966

**SUMMARY OF THE FORUM ON
THE WORK IN LITERATURE AND ART
IN THE ARMED FORCES WITH WHICH
COMRADE LIN PIAO ENTRUSTED
COMRADE CHIANG CHING**

(February 2-20, 1966)

I

Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ching invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang

Ching talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she is really knowledgeable about art. She has many valuable ideas. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to ensure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. To improve literary and art work in the armed forces, from now on the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her, and you should get in touch with her when you have any useful information, to keep her well posted on the situation in literary and art work in the armed forces and seek her views. We should be content with neither the present ideological level nor the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement."

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ching said time and again that she had not studied Chairman

Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join in discussions according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read Chairman Mao's

relevant writings, had eight private discussions with comrades from the army and attended four group discussions, thirteen film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see twenty-one other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ching saw the rushes of the film *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*, received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ching we realize that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in carrying on experiments in this field.

Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

II

In the course of about twenty days, we read two of Chairman Mao's essays and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ching's many highly important opinions and saw more than thirty films, including good and bad ones and others with shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, namely, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*. All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought

on literature and art and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum:

1. The last sixteen years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

In both stages of our revolution, the new-democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines

and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, and *Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"*, are the most complete, comprehensive and systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a

new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s. Typical expressions of this line

are such theories as those of "truthful writing", "the broad path of realism", "the deepening of realism", opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor", "middle characters", opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age". Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy", in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the

workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this sinister line. After this sinister line is destroyed, still others will appear. The struggle will have to go on. Therefore, our struggle is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle demanding decades or even centuries of effort. This is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit

many positions in this field to the sinister line, and this is a serious lesson. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1962 adopted a resolution on the unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

2. The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao, and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly

the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideology and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater

confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded through the old to bring forth the new. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings"

theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad".

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tsetung Thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards herald an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution,

the first step in our long march of ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

3. The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to cor-

rupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past fifteen years, certain persons still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August First Studio has produced as bad a film as *Pressgang*. This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed

forces has also come under the influence of the sinister line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and there are still some undesirable persons in our ranks. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

4. The Liberation Army must play an important role in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art and has given many correct instructions on this work since he has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. "The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering prole-

tarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close connection with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation". There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolutionary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution and must fight bravely and unwaveringly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

5. In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new". We, too, should create what is new and

original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s. At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the

theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence". This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature for the national rev-

olutionary war". Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad. The classical liter-

ature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

It has always been the case in the world that the rising forces defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting-class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army. This will be a most

brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses", and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political con-

tent and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned and systematic way. A success must be made of the film, *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*. The film *The Long March* must be revised successfully. A nucleus

of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

6. People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone". We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden

away, but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to give a lesson to writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film *Beleaguered City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*) write an article criticizing it?

7. We must encourage revolutionary, militant mass criticism on literature and art and break the monopoly of literary and art criticism by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation or deficient in militancy). We must place the weapon of

literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled literary and art critics. The *Jiefangjun Bao* and the *Jiefangjun Wenyi* (*Liberation Army Literature and Art*) should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must

be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film*, *A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera*. We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick". When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence adduced are inadequate. This state of affairs must be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns

our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Literary and art criticism should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct literary and art criticism it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

8. In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *Virgin Soil Upturned* and *The Fate of a Man* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the army organize people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world.

The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

9. As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with wholehearted enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said:

... life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life.

We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must concentrate and generalize experience from real life accumulated over a long period of time to create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature — ours is the side of justice and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle

and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the heat of the struggle for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters

and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

10. Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reor-

ganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weak-

ness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. In creative thinking, organizational line and style of work, we must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit, combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, draw a clear line of demarcation between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology and on no account must we coexist peacefully with bourgeois ideology. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most

people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, study and apply them in a living way, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise the level of our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in the carrying out of experiments and in the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S LETTER ON THE LIVING STUDY AND APPLICA- TION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS AMONG WORKERS ON THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMUNICATIONS FRONT

The industrial and communications departments have stressed putting politics in command and giving prominence to politics. It is very good to do this. It goes a long way both in raising the political consciousness of the working class and in strengthening our socialist construction. It will further increase the initiative and creativeness of the working class and make our socialist cause flourish still more. You

have put energetic study of Chairman Mao's works in the first place in the guiding principles for all the work of industrial and communications departments. That is very good.

China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs a unifying thought, revolutionary thought, correct thought. That is Mao Tsetung Thought. Only with this thought can we maintain vigorous revolutionary drive and keep firmly to the correct political orientation.

Mao Tsetung Thought reflects the objective laws of the domestic and international class struggle; it reflects the fundamental interests of the proletariat, of the working people. Mao Tsetung Thought has not grown spontaneously from among the working people. It is rather the result of Chairman Mao's inheriting and developing Marxism-Leninism with genius on the basis of his great revolutionary practice.

It is the result of his summing up the new experiences of the international communist movement and bringing Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

Therefore, it is essential to imbue the workers and peasants with Chairman Mao's thought through the living study and application of his works. Only so can the mental outlook of the working people be changed and spiritual forces be transformed into tremendous material strength.

The industrial and communications departments have started acting in this way in the last few years. The current meeting of these departments has summed up experiences and put forward new measures. Fresh successes will certainly be achieved.

Lin Piao
March 11, 1966

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE MASS RALLY CELEBRATING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(August 18, 1966)

Comrades, Students:

First of all, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, I give you greetings!

We firmly support your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rise up in rebellion!

Our Chairman Mao is the highest commander of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao is the supreme

commander. Under the guidance of the great supreme commander, Chairman Mao, and faithfully following his instructions, we will certainly carry the Great Cultural Revolution forward smoothly and win a great victory!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated by Chairman Mao is a great creation in the communist movement, a great creation in the socialist revolution!

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is aimed precisely at eliminating bourgeois ideology, establishing proletarian ideology, remoulding people's souls, revolutionizing their ideology, digging out the roots of revisionism, and consolidating and developing the socialist system.

We will overthrow those persons in power taking the capitalist road, overthrow the bourgeois reactionary authorities and all bourgeois royalists, oppose any act to suppress the revolution, and overthrow all ghosts and monsters!

We will energetically destroy all the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, and transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep out all the vermin and remove all obstacles!

We will make vigorous efforts to establish proletarian authorities and foster the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat. In a word, we will work with great energy so that Mao Tsetung Thought achieves complete ascendancy. We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tsetung Thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society, and enable Mao Tsetung Thought, this great spiritual force, to transform into a great material force!

The current Great Cultural Revolution is a tremendous event affecting the destiny

and the future of our Party and our country!

On what do we rely to make this Great Cultural Revolution successful? We rely on great Mao Tsetung Thought and on the wisdom and strength of the masses!

Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and the greatest genius in the present era. Chairman Mao has the strongest faith in the masses. He pays the greatest attention to them. He gives the strongest support to the revolutionary movement of the masses. His heart beats with the hearts of the revolutionary masses!

Mao Tsetung Thought marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era. It is contemporary Marxism-Leninism for remoulding the souls of the people. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat.

The people are the makers of history. Once they grasp Mao Tsetung Thought, they become the wisest and the most courageous people, capable of exerting inexhaustible strength!

With the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and having grasped Mao Tsetung Thought which is the sharpest weapon, we will be invincible and all-conquering and will achieve complete victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution recently promulgated by the Party's Central Committee was drawn up under the personal direction of the great leader Chairman Mao. It is the magnificent programme of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the latest embodiment of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must resolutely act in accordance with this decision, arouse the masses boldly, firmly oppose any methods of doing things which the masses should be left to do for themselves, firmly rely on the revo-

lutionary Left, win over the middle and unite with the great majority, concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary rightists, and thus carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

The Great Cultural Revolution is a long-term task. In it, there will be campaigns and small campaigns. It will last a very long time. So long as bourgeois ideology exists, we will fight on to the end!

The present campaign is a big one; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we must launch fierce attacks on bourgeois ideology, old customs and old forces of habit! We must thoroughly topple, smash and discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois rightists and bourgeois reactionary authorities, and they must never be allowed to rise again!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Communist Party of
China!

Long live great Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great leader Chairman
Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

**COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH
AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE
REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS
AND STUDENTS FROM
ALL PARTS OF CHINA**

(August 31, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

On behalf of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, I extend greetings to you students coming from all parts of the country; greetings to you all! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I greet you all!

Students! You have come to Peking and have been exchanging experience in the

Great Cultural Revolution with the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! We are confident that after your return, you will work even better, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the *16-Point Decision* of the Party's Central Committee, to break down all resistance, overcome all difficulties and develop the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with even greater vigour and vitality!

The present situation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is very fine!

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people have been springing up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. They take to the streets to sweep away the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits — *Tr.*]. The Great Cultural Revolution has already touched on politics and on economics. The struggle [to overthrow those persons in power taking the capitalist road], the criticism and

repudiation [of the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base] in the schools have been extended to the whole of society. The revolutionary torrents of the masses are washing away all the mire left over from the old society, and are changing the whole face of society in our country.

Young revolutionary fighters! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee warmly acclaim your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak up, to act, to break through and to make revolution. You have done many good things. You have put forward many proposals. We are greatly elated, and we warmly support you! We firmly oppose any attempt that is made to suppress you!

Your revolutionary actions are very fine!
We hail you, and salute you!

Comrades, students!

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings; dare to struggle and dare to make revolution and be good at waging struggles and at making revolution. We must take Mao Tsetung Thought as our compass in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry out the *16-Point Decision* seriously, fully, thoroughly and without reservation.

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in power who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

We must act in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. Don't hit people. This applies also to the struggle against those persons in power taking the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. Coercion or force in the struggle against them can only touch their skins. Only by reasoning is it possible to touch their souls. Only by reasoning, by exposing them fully and criticizing them profoundly, is it possible to expose their counter-revolutionary features thoroughly, isolate them to the fullest extent, discredit them, refute them and overthrow them.

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people in the colleges and middle schools are the shock force in the Great Cultural Revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army.

Students and Red Guard fighters! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tsetung Thought. Make great efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way; strive hard to apply what you are studying. Serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, be exemplary in carrying out the Party's policies, safeguard the interests of the people, protect state property, and abide by the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

Students! Provided we earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act according to his instructions, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution can certainly achieve great victories! Let imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries tremble before our victories!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live invincible Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

**COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH
AT THE PEKING RALLY TO RECEIVE
REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS
AND STUDENTS FROM
ALL PARTS OF CHINA**

(September 15, 1966)

Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

In order to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution well, you have come from all parts of the country to Peking, and are here by the side of our great leader, Chairman Mao. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! I greet you on behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. We extend you a warm welcome!

Led by Chairman Mao, and guided by the *16-Point Decision* drawn up under his leadership, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country is advancing triumphantly on a nation-wide scale. The situation is very fine! It is getting finer every day.

Red Guard fighters, revolutionary students, the general orientation of your struggle has always been correct. Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee firmly support you! So do the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers! Your revolutionary actions have shaken the whole of society and given a blow to the dregs and remnant evil elements from the old world. You have scored brilliant successes in the vigorous fight to destroy the "four olds" and foster the "four news". You have created utter consternation among those in power taking the capitalist road, the bourgeois reactionary "authorities", and blood-suckers and parasites. You have acted correctly and done well!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the fundamental contradiction to be solved by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of attack in the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. To bombard the headquarters is to bombard the handful of persons in power taking the capitalist road. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leadership of our country is in the hands of the proletariat. It is precisely for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening our dictatorship of the proletariat that we must struggle against and overthrow the handful of persons in power taking the capitalist road. Quite clearly, the handful of bourgeois reactionary elements, and those belonging to the five categories of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and

rightists are different from us. They oppose the dictatorship exercised over them by the broad masses of revolutionary people headed by the proletariat, and they are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. Can we tolerate these actions? No, we must smash the plots of these ghosts and monsters, we must see through them, we must not let their schemes succeed. They are only a small handful, but they can deceive some good people at times. We must keep firmly to the general orientation of our struggle. Any deviation from this general orientation will lead us astray.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students have a common aim and their orientation is the same. All of them must unite and go forward hand in hand under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Some people are now going against Chairman Mao's instructions and the 16-

Point Decision. By exploiting the profound class feelings of the masses of workers and peasants for the Party and Chairman Mao, they are creating antagonism between the masses of workers and peasants and the revolutionary students and are inciting the former to struggle against the latter. Under no circumstances must we let them hoodwink us!

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, have always been the main force of the revolution in our country. Today, they are the main force of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and also the main force in the country's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Our workers, peasants and soldiers must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and stand fast at their posts in production and combat stations. They must stand firmly on the side of the revolutionary students,

support their revolutionary actions and give them powerful backing.

The Red Guards and all revolutionary youth are good sons and daughters of the Chinese people. You must learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Learn from them their extremely firm revolutionary stand and their most thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Learn from them their high sense of organization and discipline and all their other fine qualities. Like the workers, peasants and soldiers, be forever loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tsetung Thought, to the Party and to the people and temper yourselves in the great storm of the revolutionary struggle to become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Led by Chairman Mao, our great leader, great teacher, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, let the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary students unite, let all revo-

lutionary comrades unite, and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live ever-triumphant Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

**COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT
THE RALLY CELEBRATING THE
SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA**

(October 1, 1966)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the great festival of the seventeenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I most warmly salute the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary teach-

ers and students, the revolutionary Red Guards and other militant youth organizations, the revolutionary people of all nationalities and the revolutionary cadres throughout the country, and extend a hearty welcome to our friends from different countries of the world!

The seventeen years that have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China have been no ordinary years. They are years which have witnessed earth-shaking changes in China. And they are years which have also witnessed earth-shaking changes in the world.

Comrade Mao Tsetung led the Chinese people in carrying out the revolution, and they traversed a tortuous path beset with all kinds of hardships. Our domestic and foreign enemies were strong, but in the end they were overthrown and driven out by the Chinese people. The imperialists headed by the United States, all the reactionaries and the modern revisionists — all these paper tigers have been punctured by

the Chinese people and all the revolutionary people of the world.

In the short space of seventeen years, the Chinese people have completely changed the old China. This is a highly meritorious deed performed by the masses of the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung. We are convinced that all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world will take their own paths in the light of their own countries' conditions and seize final victory as the Chinese people did.

Today, we are celebrating this great festival amid an upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is a great revolution, an entirely new and creative revolution, carried out after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. Its aim is to overthrow through struggle the small handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, to sweep away all ghosts and monsters from our society, and to break the old ideas,

culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and foster the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, with a view to further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist system. Historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world teaches us that if we fail to do this, the rule of revisionism will come about and the restoration of capitalism will take place. Should this happen in our country, China would go back to its former colonial and semi-colonial, feudal and semi-feudal road, and the imperialists and reactionaries would again ride roughshod over the people. The importance of our Great Cultural Revolution is therefore perfectly clear.

At present, hundreds of millions of people have been aroused. The revolutionary people feel proud and elated, while the reactionary bourgeoisie has been completely discredited. We are forging ahead. We

have already laid the corner-stone for a great victory.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is promoting the revolutionization of people's minds and has thus become a powerful motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. This year is the first year of our Third Five-Year Plan. The plan for this year's industrial production is expected to be overfulfilled, and agriculture promises another good harvest. New heights are being scaled in China's science and technology. Our great motherland has never been so prosperous and so full of vigour. Our national defence has never been so strong.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the capitalist and socialist roads exist throughout the historical period of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution constitutes a new stage in the struggle between the two classes and between

the two roads. In the course of this revolution, the struggle is still going on between the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois line of opposing revolution. Those who cling to the erroneous line are only a small handful of persons, who divorce themselves from the people, oppose the people and Mao Tsetung Thought, and this spells their certain failure.

Comrades and friends! At present, an excellent situation prevails in the world. The great upheavals of the past few years in the world show that the days of imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism and all reaction are numbered.

U.S. imperialism is trying hard to find a way out by launching a world war. We must take this seriously. The focal point of the present struggle lies in Viet Nam. We have made every preparation. Not flinching from maximum national sacrifices, we are

determined to give firm support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in carrying the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. Imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its centre are colluding and actively plotting peace-talk swindles for the purpose of stamping out the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's national revolutionary war against U.S. aggression, of the national revolutionary struggles in Asian, African and Latin American countries and of the world revolution. They will not succeed in their schemes so long as the people of the whole world keep their eyes wide open. Twenty years ago, Chairman Mao said that the people of the whole world must form a united front against U.S. imperialism so as to defeat it. The revolutionary people of all countries are now advancing along this road.

Chairman Mao has said:

People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

Such is the inevitable future of the world.

The Chinese people will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of proletarian internationalism and, with the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and the revolutionary people of all countries, carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the struggle against modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its centre through to the end!

Comrades and friends!

All our achievements and successes have been scored under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and represent the victory of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must use Mao Tsetung Thought to unify the thinking

of the whole Party and the thinking of the people of the whole country. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and further unfold the mass movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the country. We must turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful and prosperous country. This is the demand of the Chinese people as well as the hope placed on us by the people of all countries.

Long live the people of all the nationalities in China!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live ever-victorious Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING MASS RALLY TO RECEIVE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM ALL OVER CHINA

(November 3, 1966)

Students, Comrades and Red Guard
Fighters:

With boundless love and infinite loyalty
for our great leader Chairman Mao, you
have come to Peking in a new nation-wide
upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural
Revolution to see Chairman Mao and to
exchange revolutionary experience. On
behalf of Chairman Mao and the Central

Committee of the Party, I extend my
warmest welcome to you!

Chairman Mao is extremely happy to
receive you today. This is the sixth time
in two months or more, including National
Day, that Chairman Mao has received
revolutionary students and teachers and
Red Guards from all over the country.
Chairman Mao is the greatest proletarian
revolutionary; he is always with the
masses, has full confidence in them, shares
weal and woe with them and whole-
heartedly supports the revolutionary mass
movement. Chairman Mao has set the
most glorious example for all comrades in
our Party and for the younger generation.

The present situation of the Great Pro-
letarian Cultural Revolution is excellent!
The gigantic, vigorous mass movement is
developing in depth with each passing day.
A tremendous change has taken place
over the whole face of society and in the
mental outlook of the people. Great
Mao Tsetung Thought has become more

extensively disseminated and has gone deeper into the minds of the people. As a result of Chairman Mao's call "grasp revolution and promote production", the Cultural Revolution has stimulated the revolutionization of people's thinking and spurred extremely rapid development in industrial and agricultural production and in science and technology. The recent successful guided missile-nuclear weapon test is a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought and a great victory for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pronounced the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line. In the past two months and more, the correct line of Chairman Mao has been put before the broad masses and has been grasped by them, and criticisms have been made of the erroneous line. The broad

masses have really translated into action Chairman Mao's call to "concern yourselves with affairs of state". This is an extremely fine thing. It is an important guarantee that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will be carried through to the end.

Chairman Mao's line is one of letting the masses educate and emancipate themselves. It is the line of putting "daring" above everything else and of daring to trust the masses, to rely on them and to arouse them boldly. It is the application and a new development of the Party's mass line in the Great Cultural Revolution. It is the line of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The bourgeois line is one of opposing the mass line, of opposing the education and emancipation of the masses by themselves, of repressing the masses and opposing the revolution. This bourgeois reactionary line directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary masses,

and not against the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, and all the ghosts and monsters in society. It uses various ways and means to incite the masses to struggle against each other, and the students to do the same.

The proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is as incompatible with the bourgeois reactionary line as fire is to water. Only by thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating its influence can the line of Chairman Mao be carried out correctly, completely and thoroughly.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, the broad revolutionary masses of our country have created the new experience of developing extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this extensive democracy, the Party is fearlessly encouraging the broad masses to use the media of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive exchange of

revolutionary experience to criticize and supervise the Party and government leading institutions and leaders at all levels. At the same time, the people's democratic rights are being fully realized in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Without such extensive democracy, it would be impossible to initiate a genuine Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, effect a great revolution deep in the minds of the people, carry out the Proletarian Cultural Revolution thoroughly and completely, eradicate the roots of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure the advance of our country along the road of socialism and communism. This extensive democracy is a new form of integrating Mao Tsetung Thought with the broad masses, a new form of mass self-education. It is a new contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

International historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat has demonstrated that without carrying out a thoroughgoing Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of this kind and without practising such extensive democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be weakened and will change in essence, while capitalism will stage a come-back by various means and the exploiting classes will once again ride on the backs of the people.

Such extensive democracy must be thoroughly practised not only between the leadership and the masses; it is also absolutely necessary to carry it out thoroughly among the masses themselves and between all sections of the masses. Unless there is such extensive democracy among the masses themselves and unless they are good at mutual consultation, at listening to dissenting views, at presenting facts and reasoning things out, at using their brains to ponder problems, they cannot

possibly educate and emancipate themselves, achieve the purpose of developing the ranks of the Left, uniting the great majority and isolating the handful of bourgeois rightists, and fully carry out the line of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution put forward by our great teacher Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao supports you comrades travelling on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, the advantages of which are widespread contact with the masses, contact with all aspects of the life of society and a deeper understanding of class struggle in socialist society. It provides better opportunities to learn from the workers and the peasants and to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought on an even broader scale. All this is very useful for the revolutionary teachers and students to have a better understanding of Mao Tsetung Thought and the correct line of Chairman Mao. Of course, this kind of travelling on foot for the exchange of revolutionary

experience must be undertaken in a planned and organized way and must be well prepared.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that, with the experience gained in the last few months, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will in the days to come make still better progress and attain still greater success!

March forward under the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the victory of the line of Chairman Mao!

Long live the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE RALLY CELEBRATING THE EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(October 1, 1967)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On this glorious festive occasion, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cul-

tural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, I most warmly salute the workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and extend a hearty welcome to our comrades and friends from different parts of the world!

We are celebrating the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China at a time when tremendous victories have been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an excellent situation prevails both in China and in the whole world.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution movement initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has spread to the whole of China. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused. From the capital to the border regions, from the cities to the countryside, and from factory

workshops to workers' homes, everyone, from teenagers to grey-haired old folk, concerns himself with state affairs and with the consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale. The broad masses of workers and peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, gradually uniting themselves through their struggles in the past year, have formed a mighty revolutionary army. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, they have badly routed the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov, who have collapsed on all fronts.

Frightened out of their wits by China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and

all reaction hoped that this great revolution would upset our national economy. The facts have turned out to be exactly the opposite of the wishes of these overlords. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has further liberated the productive forces. Glad tidings about the successes in our industrial production keep on coming in. In agriculture, we are reaping a good harvest for the sixth consecutive year. Our markets are thriving and the prices are stable. The successful explosion of China's hydrogen bomb indicates a new level in the development of science and technology. What is even more important, the Great Cultural Revolution has educated the masses and the youth, greatly promoted the revolutionization of the thinking of the entire Chinese people, enhanced the great unity of the people of all nationalities and tempered our cadres and all the PLA commanders and fighters. Our great motherland has never been so powerful as it is today.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won decisive victory. In the history of the international communist movement, this is the first great revolution launched by the proletariat itself in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an epoch-making new development of Marxism-Leninism which Chairman Mao has effected with genius and in a creative way.

In response to the great call of Chairman Mao, we must not only thoroughly destroy the bourgeois headquarters organizationally, but must also carry out more extensive and penetrating revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation so that the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov will be completely overthrown and discredited politically, ideologically and theoretically and will never be able to rise again. Such mass criticism and repudiation should be combined with the struggle-criticism-trans-

formation in the respective units so that the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought will fly over all fronts.

At present, the most important task before us is, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and his theory, line, principles and policy for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to hold fast to the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle pointed out by Chairman Mao, to closely follow his strategic plan and, through the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation combined with the struggle-criticism-transformation in the respective units, to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in these units, thus carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao has recently instructed us: "**Fight self, repudiate revisionism.**" By fighting self, we mean to use Marxism-

Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, to fight selfish ideas in one's own mind. By repudiating revisionism, we mean to use Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, to combat revisionism and struggle against the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. These two tasks are interrelated. Only when we have done a good job of eradicating selfish ideas, can we do better in carrying the struggle against revisionism through to the end. We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and, with the instruction "**fight self, repudiate revisionism**" as the guiding principle, strengthen the ideological education of the army and civilian cadres and of the Red Guards. Various kinds of study classes should be organized both at the central and local levels and they can also be run by the revolutionary mass organizations, so that the whole country will be turned into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought. These studies will help our veteran and new cadres and

young revolutionary fighters to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, transform all sorts of non-proletarian ideas in their minds, raise their ideological and political level and perform new meritorious deeds for the people.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao — “grasp revolution and promote production”, energetically promote the development of our industrial and agricultural production and rapidly raise our scientific and technological level.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and unfold a movement of “supporting the army and cherishing the people”. We must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and resolutely suppress the sabotaging activities by class enemies, domestic and foreign.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a movement that integrates Mao Tsetung Thought with the broad masses of the people. Once Mao Tsetung Thought

is grasped by hundreds of millions of people, it turns into an invincible material force, ensuring that the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country will never change its colour and enabling our socialist revolution and socialist construction to advance victoriously along the road of Mao Tsetung Thought!

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Workers of all countries, unite; proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!

Down with imperialism headed by the United States!

Down with modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its centre!

Resolute support to the Vietnamese people in their great war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!

Resolute support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Resolute support to the revolutionary struggles of all peoples!

We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities of China!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism!

Long live ever-victorious Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT THE PEKING RALLY COMMEMORATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

(November 6, 1967)

Comrades, Young Red Guard Fighters and Friends:

Today the Chinese people join the proletarians and revolutionary people throughout the world in grand and solemn commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October Revolution led by the great Lenin was a turning point in human history.

The victory of the October Revolution broke through the dark rule of capitalism, established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and opened a new era of the world proletarian revolution.

For more than one hundred years since Marx and Engels formulated the theory of scientific socialism, the international proletariat, advancing wave upon wave and making heroic sacrifices, has been waging arduous struggles for the great ideal of communism and has performed immortal exploits in the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International and in the great practice of leading the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the problem of victory for socialism in one country, thus developing Marxism to the stage of Leninism. Leninism is Marx-

ism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The salvos of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, so that the world took on an entirely new look.

In the last fifty years, following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world have carried the world history forward to another entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a great new era in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in the decisive battle on a worldwide scale.

Led by the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have followed up their victory in the national-democratic revolution with great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Socialist China has become the mighty bulwark of world revolution. Adhering to

the road of the October Revolution, the heroic people of Albania have raised a bright red banner in Europe. By their war against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have set a brilliant example of struggle against imperialism for the people of the whole world. The movement of national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is developing vigorously. The ranks of the Marxist-Leninists are growing steadily, and a new situation has emerged in the international communist movement.

Compared with half a century ago, the world proletarian revolution today is far deeper in content, far broader in scope and far sharper in its struggle. The new historical era has posed a series of important new problems for Marxist-Leninists. However, in the final analysis, the most fundamental problem remains that of seizing and consolidating political power.

Chairman Mao says: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." This is a great Marxist-Leninist truth.

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists always focuses on this fundamental issue. The modern revisionists, represented by Khrushchov and his successors, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, are wildly opposing the revolution of the people of the world and have openly abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought about an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. This is a monstrous betrayal of the October Revolution. It is a monstrous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. It is a monstrous betrayal of the great Soviet people and the people of the world. Therefore, if the proletariat fails to smash the wanton attacks of the modern revisionists, if it does not firmly defend the road of the October Revolution opened up by the great

Lenin, continue to advance along this road under the new historical conditions and thoroughly solve the question of how to seize and consolidate political power, it will not be able to win final victory, or will probably lose political power even after seizing it, and, like the Soviet people, will come under the rule of a new privileged bourgeois stratum.

It is our good fortune that because Comrade Mao Tsetung has comprehensively inherited and developed the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most fundamental issue of the world proletarian revolution, that is, the road to the seizure and consolidation of political power, has been brought to a higher stage in theory and in practice. Our great leader Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to an entirely new peak. The ever-victorious Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which im-

perialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

In the course of leading the great struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has with genius solved a whole series of complicated problems concerning the seizure of political power by force of arms. Under his leadership, the Chinese people went through the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complex people's revolutionary war in the history of the world proletarian revolution and founded the red political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way the Chinese people seized political power by force of arms under Chairman Mao's leadership may be summarized as follows: Under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and final-

ly capture the cities. This is a great new development of the road to the seizure of political power by force of arms indicated by the October Revolution.

Chairman Mao has said:

As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counter-revolutionary forces are comparatively weak.

Since in our time all the reactionary ruling classes have a tight grip on the main cities, it is necessary for a revolutionary political party to utilize the vulnerable links and areas of reactionary rule, fully arouse the masses, conduct guerrilla warfare, establish stable revolutionary bases and so build up and temper their own forces and, through prolonged fighting, strive step by step for complete victory in the revolution. Hence, reliance on the masses to build rural revolutionary base areas and use the countryside to encircle the cities is a historic task which

the oppressed nations and peoples in the world today must seriously study and tackle in their fight to seize political power by force of arms.

Not only has Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively developed Leninism on the question of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, he has effected an epoch-making creative development of Leninism on the most important question of our time — the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

From the first day of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin paid close attention to the consolidation of the newborn Soviet state power. He recognized the sharp and protracted nature of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out:

The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has termi-

nated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration.

The biggest lesson in the history of the international communist movement in the last fifty years is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This harsh fact has strikingly brought the Marxist-Leninists of the world face to face with the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

It is Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great teacher of the world proletariat of our time, who in the new historical conditions, has systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, scientifically analysed the contradictions in socialist society, profoundly shown the laws of class struggle in socialist society and put forward a whole set of theory, line, principles, meth-

ods and policies for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With supreme courage and wisdom, Chairman Mao has successfully led the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in history. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has opened up in China, which has a quarter of the world's population, a bright path for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world who are fighting imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction resolutely support our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They find in the victory of this revolution tremendous inspiration, bright prospects and greater confidence in victory.

The imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys the modern revisionists and all the reactionaries have taken great pains to curse and vilify our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This proves by negative example that our victory has dealt the enemy a very heavy blow and that they are nothing but a bunch of vampires that are bound to be destroyed.

The world is moving forward. And theory, which reflects the laws of the world, is likewise developing continuously.

Mao Tsetung Thought is the banner of our era.

Once Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the oppressed nations and peoples will, through their own struggles, be able to win liberation.

Once Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the countries that have al-

ready established the dictatorship of the proletariat will, through their own struggles, be able to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Once Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era — is grasped, the people of those countries where political power has been usurped by revisionists will, through their own struggles, be able to overthrow the rule of revisionism and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Once Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, is integrated with the revolutionary practice of the people of all countries, the entire old world will be shattered to smithereens.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters and friends:

The fifty years since the October Revolution have been years of fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, with the former winning one

victory after another. The imperialist system resembles a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. The emergence of Khrushchov revisionism is a product of imperialist policy and reflects the deathbed struggle of imperialism. Although imperialism and revisionism will go on making trouble in collusion with each other, the reactionary adverse current can never become the main current. The dialectics of history is irresistible. Henceforth, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world will raise still higher the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and march forward in giant strides along the road opened up by the October Revolution!

Those who betray the October Revolution can never escape the punishment of history. Khrushchov has long since fallen. In redoubling its efforts to pursue the policy of betrayal, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique will not last long either. The pro-

letariat and the working people of the Soviet Union, with their glorious tradition of revolution, will never forget the teachings of the great Lenin and Stalin. They are sure to rise in revolution under the banner of Leninism, overthrow the rule of the reactionary revisionist clique and bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of socialism.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters and friends!

The situation in our great motherland is excellent. Under the guidance of the latest instructions of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is forging ahead victoriously.

We must raise still higher the great banner of the October Revolution and the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end.

We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful base for world revolution.

We must give ever more vigorous support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

We must, together with the revolutionary people everywhere, carry through to the end the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

We must intensify our efforts in studying and grasping Mao Tsetung Thought and disseminate it still more widely throughout the world.

These are glorious tasks entrusted to the people of our country by history, and they are our incumbent internationalist duty.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has given the call:

Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary people

of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man will surely be built.

Let us fight with courage for the realization of this great call of Chairman Mao's!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH AT
THE RALLY CELEBRATING THE
NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

(October 1, 1968)

Comrades and Friends,

The great People's Republic of China founded and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung has triumphantly traversed the broad road of socialism for nineteen years.

On the occasion of the celebration of this glorious festival, I would like, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao

and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the Chinese Government, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, to extend the warmest greetings to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the People's Liberation Army, the young Red Guard fighters, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals, who have performed outstanding and meritorious deeds in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and to express the warmest welcome to our comrades and friends from different countries of the world!

Our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has now scored great victories. Revolutionary committees have been established in twenty-nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country except Taiwan Province. Industry, agriculture, science and technology and revolutionary litera-

ture and art are all thriving. The counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov and the handful of his agents in various places to restore capitalism has gone completely bankrupt. Tempered through nineteen years of class struggle, and particularly through the storm of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has become more consolidated and powerful than ever.

All these victories and achievements are the fruits of the valiant struggles waged by the revolutionary masses of our country in their hundreds of millions under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao.

At present, the central task confronting us is to follow Chairman Mao's great teaching, that is, **carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously.** That means to consolidate and develop the revolutionary committees, to do a good job of mass criticism and re-

pudiation, of purifying the class ranks, of consolidating and building the Party, of the educational revolution and of simplifying the administrative structure and to change irrational rules and regulations and **grasp revolution and promote production** and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Chairman Mao points out: **The working class must exercise leadership in everything.** In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, thousands upon thousands of industrial workers throughout the country organized in workers' Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams, in co-operation with Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams of the People's Liberation Army, have entered or are entering colleges, middle and primary schools and all the other places where intellectuals are predominant in number. They have thus stepped on to the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure. This is a

great event in the sixties of the twentieth century. Although it has not been long since this happened, revolutionary practice has proved and will continue to prove that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese working class long tested in heroic battles will certainly perform even more brilliant feats together with its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants and together with the broad revolutionary masses.

On behalf of the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao, I call on the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, completely carry out his latest instructions and continue to perform new meritorious deeds in the seizure of all-round victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At the same time, all commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army must always remain vigilant, en-

hance the preparedness against war and defend the country, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and are ready at all times to wipe out any enemy who dares to invade us!

At present, the situation at home and abroad is excellent. The struggles of the revolutionary people are surging in all parts of the world. The U.S. imperialists are finding the going very tough, and so are the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries. Their counter-revolutionary rule will not last long. Awaiting them are the total collapse of the old world of capitalism and the worldwide victory of the proletarian socialist revolution.

Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!

Down with U.S. imperialism!
Down with Soviet revisionism!

Down with the reactionaries of all countries!

Smash the scheme of collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to carve up the world!

Long live the all-round victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

VICE-CHAIRMAN LIN PIAO'S SPEECH
AT THE RALLY CELEBRATING THE
TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE FOUNDING OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

(October 1, 1969)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China. On this occasion when the people throughout the country are joyously celebrating this glorious festival, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of

the People's Republic of China, I salute the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of all nationalities of our country! Salute the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army! Salute all those people and overseas Chinese who love our socialist motherland! A warm welcome and greetings to our comrades and friends coming from various countries of the world!

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great leader Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed to the whole world: **The Chinese people comprising one quarter of humanity have now stood up.** From the very day of its birth, the great socialist New China, like the sun rising in the east, illuminates every corner of the land with a brilliant flame. From that time, the history of our country has entered a completely new era!

In the past twenty years, the entire Chinese people, under the brilliant leader-

ship of our great leader Chairman Mao, following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, relying on our own efforts, waging arduous struggles and working hard, have transformed a backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into an advanced socialist New China. Our motherland has undergone earth-shaking changes.

In the course of struggle over the past twenty years, we have consolidated the political power of the proletariat, victoriously smashed the subversive schemes and disruptive activities of the enemies at home and abroad and achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. While carrying out socialist revolution on the economic front, we have also carried out socialist revolution on the political, ideological and cultural fronts. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has completely

shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and smashed their plot to restore capitalism. The unprecedented wide dissemination of great Mao Tsetung Thought and its being grasped by hundreds of millions of people are changing enormously people's mental outlook and promoting the steady development of our cause of socialism. Our socialist motherland is thriving and growing ever more prosperous. The people of all nationalities of our country are more united than ever before. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become even more consolidated. The great socialist China, standing like a giant in the East, has become a powerful political force against imperialism and revisionism.

All our victories are victories of Mao Tsetung Thought and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The practice of our socialist revolution proves that the theory, line, principles and policies of

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by our great leader Chairman Mao constitute most important new contributions to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and have opened up a brilliant road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. From their protracted struggles, the people of the whole country have come to realize the truth: Closely following our great leader Chairman Mao means victory.

At the Party's Ninth National Congress of far-reaching historical significance, Chairman Mao issued the great call "**Unite to win still greater victories**", which has greatly inspired the fighting will of the people throughout the country.

Now we must continue to hold aloft the banner of unity for victory of the Party's Ninth Congress, carry out in an all-round

way the fighting tasks set forth by the congress and implement all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We must carry on in a more extensive and deep-going way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and do an even better job of ideological revolutionization. We must firmly grasp revolutionary mass criticism, **carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously** and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great strategic policy "**Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people**"; **grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war; go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism** and start a new upsurge in revolution and production.

Comrades! We must rally even more closely around the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and strengthen the Party's centralized and unified leadership. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, remain modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness, continue to develop the vigorous proletarian revolutionary spirit, carry on forever the glorious revolutionary tradition of hard struggle, bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses and build our socialist motherland into a more prosperous and powerful country and build up a more powerful national defence.

In the past twenty years, most profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The revolutionary movement of the people of various countries is surging to unprecedented heights, while U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are becoming more isolated than ever before. In order to extricate themselves

from the predicament of being beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are colluding and at the same time contending with each other, carrying out arms expansion and war preparations and wildly attempting to engineer a war of aggression against our country and flagrantly resorting to nuclear blackmail against us. In the relations between countries, China has always upheld the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Our stand is: **We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.** The people of the whole country must heighten their vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out all enemy intruders who dare to come. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We warn U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism: The heroic Chinese people and Chinese People's Liberation Army armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are invincible.

Should you insist on imposing a war on the Chinese people, we will keep you company and resolutely fight to the finish! On the vast land of China, wherever you go, there will be your burial ground!

We will always uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly support the heroic Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; firmly support the Laotian people in their just struggle against the invasion of Laos by U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of Thailand; firmly support the Palestinian people and the people of all Arab countries in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism; and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and people of the five continents!

People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

无产阶级文化大革命重要文件集

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